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Let your motto be...

RESISTANCE

-HENRY HIGHLAND GARNET

Newsletter of the Coalition to Defend the October 20th Freedom Fighters
No. 2 February, 1982

New Afrikan Prisoner of War Sekou Odinga was arraigned on February 11th in Rockland County on charges related to the Brink's expropriation. He refused to participate in the proceedings in any way and did not enter a plea. His stance is part of challenging the legitimacy of the u.s. government and its right to try New Afrikan freedom fighters. He was represented in court by William Kunstler and Chokwe Lumumba.

CONDITIONS:
Victories won, Campaign Intensifies

A victory has been won in the fight to stop the isolation and torture of the captured October 20th Freedom Fighters. The campaign to get comrade Solomon Brown decent medical care forced the Rockland County District Attorney and prison officials to transfer him to Westchester County Medical Center. On admission, X-rays verified what prison doctors and officials already knew -- that his neck was broken. He was immediately placed in traction and then operated on in an effort to avoid permanent paralysis. The surgery was apparently successful, and he was discharged after one week to Woodbourne State Correctional Facility where comrades Judy Clark, David Gilbert abd Kathy Boudin are held.

Comrade Solomon's case made it all the clearer that mass pressure can have an impact in stopping the state's strategy to try to physically and psychologically break these captured revolutionaries. It took a concerted effort to get comrade Solomon any care: the work of the legal team, the flow of thousands of letters, telegrams and telephone calls to the U.S. Justice Department, the District Attorney, and prison officials and the hunger strike by Judy Clark, David Gilbert and Kathy Boudin. (see RESISTANCE #1). Within 48 hours of the start of the hunger strike, comrade Solomon was transferred to the hospital.

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Kuwasi Balagoon (Donald G. Weems) was captured in the Bronx, New York on January 20, 1982 and has been arraigned in Rockland County on charges stemming from the Brink's expropriation. Comrade Kuwasi was a leading member of the Black Panther Party and was part of the Panther 21. He was subsequently jailed on charges of sniping at a policeman and escaped from prison in 1978. At the time of his arrest he gave only his name, identified himself as a member of the Black Liberation Army, and vowed to continue the struggle from wherever he is.

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Editorial:

DON'T COLLABORATE WITH THE STATE

The federal "RICO" grand jury sitting in the southern district of New York investigating the "Brinks incident" will next week continue to use its illegal powers and jail Fulani Sunni-Ali of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, along with Gerry Gaines, a Black activist from Mississippi, and Eve Rosahn, an anti-imperialist activist. All three women are refusing to cooperate with the grand jury. Their position is one of non-collaboration.

The fundamental purpose of this grand jury's so-called "investigation" is to hand down RICO conspiracy indictments. These indictments will be aimed at the organized leadership of the revolutionary nationalist New Afrikan Independence Movement and at parts of the leadership of the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement. The U.S. government is attempting to attack the most revolutionary forces -- the armed clandestine forces of the Black liberation struggle and the anti-imperialist movement -- by targetting those forces that publicly support the armed struggle.

In the possible indictments from this grand jury the government is clearly moving to both criminalize public leadership, involve them in lengthy trials and incarcerate them. This strategy has been used before. It has been used against the Revolutionary Puerto Rican Independence Movement. It was used in 1976-1977 and is being used currently. The grand jury in 1976-1977 and the one that is sitting in the eastern district of New York have been unsuccessful in obtaining one single criminal indictment against the Independence Movement in six years of investigation. And the revolutionary movement and the movement of resistance against the U.S. government have significantly grown. Why? What do we have to learn from the Independence Movement's successful strategy of resistance?

Two clear principles in the resistance emerge: 1) never abandon support for the right of the armed clandestine movement to wage armed struggle and defend it at all costs; and 2) refuse to collaborate in any way with the government's investigation, be that through the use of grand jury testimony or any other form of government information-gathering. Refusing to cooperate means that the state's ability to gain information is severely limited. And when people are jailed for refusal to cooperate, they become an example to the broader movement; in their stance and commitment to the goals of the movement, they clarify how and why the state is the enemy, and lead, by the very act of their incarceration, all progressive forces, in resisting the attempts by the government to destroy our movement.

The stand of non-collaboration refutes the efforts of the state to turn supporters of the armed struggle into criminals. In practice it shows how the grand jury's investigation is punitive in nature. When people refuse to collaborate in any way, it shows that to be held in "contempt" of the grand jury is to be held in contempt and jailed for one's ideas. Non-collaboration serves the interest of the revolutionary movement because it exposes the fascist and repressive nature of this government and because it shows that the revolutionary and progressive forces are committed to defending the movement -- knowing that one of the possible consequences of waging real struggle is incarceration.

It is reflecting on this that the Coalition to Defend the October 20th Freedom Fighters must criticize the May 19th Communist Organization for its unprincipled and dangerous decision to allow Eve Rosahn to collaborate with the Rockland County District Attorney by giving a sample of her handwriting. This evidence resulted in the criminal charges against her being dropped.

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Letter From Judy Clark and David Gilbert

On January 28th, the movement won a victory as the state was forced to drop its frame-up charges against Eve Rosahn. In this struggle Eve voluntarily provided a handwriting exemplar to the Rockland County District Attorney as proof of her innocence. In response to criticism, the May 19th Communist Organization has invited debate on this decision.

We believe this decision represented a serious violation of principle because it entailed collaboration with the state. The impact of this error goes beyond Eve's case to affect Third World struggles and the anti-imperialist movement. It is critical for all of us to struggle and learn from this error in order to be capable of building a strong movement on a revolutionary basis that can fight u.s. imperialism.

There is no correct basis to distinguish between cooperating with one state investigatory apparatus and another. Giving up the exemplar gave information to a state investigation that is part of the counter-intelligence war operations against the Black liberation struggle, the Black Liberation Army, and the anti-imperialist struggle overall. Non-collaboration is not just a tactic to defend ourselves against repressive attacks. It is a revolutionary principle that comes from recognizing our fundamental antagonistic relationship to the imperialist state. Non-collaboration builds the resistance, which helps to build the strength of the anti-imperialist struggle overall. We must learn from the example of the Puerto Rican and ChicanoMexicano movements -- they have confronted the state's investigations and attacks with an unwaivering revolutionary stand of non-collaboration and support for armed struggle that has both undermined the state's strategy and made their movement stronger. In the RICO Grand Jury, Black grand jury resisters have taken a firm stand of non-collaboration and have gone to jail to uphold that position. Collaboration, on the other hand, both materially aids the state with information and politically strengthens the enemy. Any example of cooperation is in itself a political victory for the state and is used by them to encourage further cooperation by others.

Providing an exemplar of Eve's handwriting gave legitimacy to the state. The government knew all along that Eve was innocent and fabricated false evidence to indict her. Giving them her handwriting allowed the government to represent itself as pursuing a legitimate investigation, in which her charges were dropped because of this new evidence. This serves to hide the fact that they knew of her innocence all along. This weakens the impact of the victory of her exoneration. It is only a hard fought fight <u>on our terms</u> that can expose the true fascist nature of the state's offensive.

Revolutionaries, of course, employ tactical flexibility. But we must be careful not to confuse tactics and principles. We can never rely on the state; rather we look to the struggle for our strength. Exonerating evidence could be part of a popular campaign to expose the state's lies and defeat its frame-up. We believe that consistently maintaining this approach would have vindicated Eve. And though it might have been a longer, harder fight, the victory would have built greater strength. Cooperating and accepting the state's terms was seeking an easy way out, based in white supremacy.

The frame-up against Eve was not an isolated attack. It was part of a much larger offensive being waged today, particularly directed against the Black liberation struggle and its revolutionary armed forces. It is part of imperialism's strategy to attack the liberation struggles of Black, Puerto Rican, ChicanoMexicano and Native American

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SOLIDARITY STATEMENT

...from rita d. brown:

greetings of strength & solidarity to yazmin who now sits in jail cuz of the madness of the grand jury... to fulani & eve who have been temporarily sprung from that same madness... to jerri gaines who awaits the states star chamber... to those of you who are here today,,. & expecially to the RATF. 4 years ago i was convicted of an expropriation that was claimed by the George Jackson Brigade, a group of freedom fighters active in the Pacific Northwest. the GJB grew outa the prison support movement & comprised of cons & excons, blacks & whites, men & women, dykes & faggots.

i support the work & struggle of the RATF and see it as living proof of an extremely important advance in the practice of progressive forces in this country. it represents the unity of black & white freedom fighters in the very necessary high security (read that trust) job of expropriation. such unity has been practiced before but never has it been so openly acknowledged & talked about across the land.

yes, just as freedom fighters are necessary, expropriations are necessary. just as revolution will always be declared illegal by the state, it will also always be expensive. this is the 20th century in a patriarchal imperialist world where everything costs plenty. this is one reality that needs to be recognized!

the RATF represents a practical understanding of the basic right of new afrikans to a nationalist position as determined by themselves. it represents unity & growth towards an international concept of the power struggles going on in this world. it has taken many changes & much struggle for the conception of this RATF baby. it means that it is possible to overcome the amerikkkan racist ideology that keeps black & white from building such strong unity. a unity that means engaging in life & death confrontations together, depending on one another. it means that womyn, white feminists in particular have found it possible to obtain & maintain leadership on yet another level of revolutionary work. no doubt these lessons were learned from & with some mighty strong 3rd world sisters... & that is real growth... this is birth!!

now is a time when the right wing is attempting to revive the nuclear family with the family protection act. this legislation is blatantly homophobic, racist, & anti-union. womyn are suddently appearing in soldier of fortune as competent shooters & mercenaries in S. Africa. such tactics are attempts to divert us with confusion.

the strong will not allow such confusion to silence their demands or stop their search for knowledge & wisdom. the strong will read & discuss the BLA communique of nov 5, '81 which explains "...a racist genocidal war being waged against black people in amerika necessitated a revolutionary response...". the strong will listen to what is said by the imprisoned RATF members. strong amazons & various other warriors will continue to struggle thru whatever is necessary towards building unity with 3rd world peoples on all levels. the strong will begin to understand the lessons of john brown. it is in our own interest that we do this & in the interest of every living creature on this planet.

we cannot again allow our own interests to be served while our 3rd world allies are sold down the river. the white womyn's movement has to assume its responsibility of truly understanding amerikkkan genocide... of understanding who the real terrorists are... who is making war on womyn & children by cutting food & education programs? who systematically encourages rape & child abuse? who allows police to beat suspects or shoot them in the back? & what color are the majority of these victims of state sanctioned violence?

now is the time to stand together with pride & principles to show our resistance to the government's grand jurys, to cointelpro programs, to the proposed new criminal code which will only create more & more repression. there is a brink's grand jury, a puerto rico grand jury, there are police kicking in poet's doors, there are RATF sisters caged in a men's prison, there are brothers who were beaten so badly that they are slowly dying from lack of medical attention. what you let happen to these people & their struggles could very well happen to you when the u.s. government gets tired of your particular resistance!

"...settle your quarrels, come together, understand the reality of our situation, understand that facism is already here, that people are already dying who could be saved, that generations more will die or live poor butchered half-lives if you fail to act.

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STOP THE GRAND JURY!

Two Puerto Rican grand jury resisters, Carlos Noya Muratti and Norberto Cintron Fiallo, have been jailed in the U.S. for 14 months and 6 months respectively, without having been convicted of any crime. Noya, member of La Liga Socialista Puertorriquena, and Cintron, revolutionary labor leader, were found in contempt of the grand jury convened in Puerto Rico to investigate the Puerto Rican independence movement and to intimidate supporters of the armed clandestine movement in Puerto Rico and the U.S.

The U.S. knows that these activists will not, at any time, betray their nation's struggle for independence and socialism by collaborating with the grand jury. It is clear that their exile and incarceration is an attempt to criminalize political activity by punitively detaining people for their political beliefs. We must build a movement that is not intimidated by the U.S. government's tactics of repression. The immediate release of Noya and Cintron is crucial to defeating the grand jury overall. STOP THE GRAND JURY! FREE CARLOS NOYA AND NORBERTO CINTRON!

The attacks on the independence movement through the grand jury have fueled the resistance to a New York federal grand jury that has subpoenaed 5 leaders and activists in the struggles for Puerto Rican independence and socialism and for the socialist reunification of Mexico, including members of the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional(MLN). Amidst massive demonstrations around the country, in Mexico and Puerto Rico, these five-Ricardo Romero, Steven Guerra, Maria Cueto, Julio Rosado, and Andres Rosado-have appeared on 3 separate occasions in Brooklyn Federal Court to answer the subpoenas.

Even with the government's intention of criminalizing and jailing these activists; even after appearing before the grand jury and expressing their total refusal to comply with the requests for physical evidence; even though the judge showed his determination to jail these companeros immediately; still the five grand jury resisters are free! THIS IS A VICTORY! KEEP THEM FREE!

The attempt to harass and intimidate supporters has only served to strengthen the movement and bring out more support. The Episcopal Church, for one, has demanded that the government stop using the grand jury to politically repress the Puerto Rican independence movement. The strategic unity being forged between the Puerto Rican, the Mexicano/Chicano and the Black liberation struggles in the day-to-day fight against repression and for national liberation is turning these attacks into strength and growth.

On March 1, at 12 noon, there will be a demonstration called by the New Movement in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence and Socialism, at MCC, 150 Park Row, N.Y.C.

FREE CARLOS NOYA AND NORBERTO CINTRON!
STOP THE GRAND JURY!
NO COOPERATION WITH THE FBI!
INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM FOR PUERTO RICO!
SOCIALIST REUNIFICATION OF MEXICO! ●

Please send the following letter or telegram to:

U.S. Attorney General William French Smith
U.S. Justice Department
Washington, D.C.

I demand the immediate release of Carlos Noya and Norberto Cintron, 2 Puerto Rican independentistas being held captive in the U.S. because of their complete refusal to betray the struggle for Puerto Rican independence and socialism by testifying before a federal grand jury. I further demand that you immediately drop all oustandingg subpoenas against Puerto Rican and Mexican/Chicano activists and that harassment of them be stopped. Drop the subpoenas of Ricardo Romero, Steven Guerra, Maria Cueto, Julio Rosado and Andres Rosado to the grand jury in Brooklyn New York.
I hold you responsible for the repression of the independence movement both on the island and here in the U.S. and hold you accountable for the well being of those who are in jail.

Women: Support Our Freedom Fighters!

RESPONSE TO OFF OUR BACKS

Since the revolutionary attempted Brinks expropriation in Nyack, NY on October 20, 1981, there has been a raging struggle in the organized women's movement. This struggle has centered on whether the women's movement should support the Black Liberation Army, support armed struggle, support the alliance of white anti-imperialists under the leadership of the BLA, and whether the position of women in response to the government's investigation should be one of non-collaboration. There are two clear positions. These positions reflect two strategies for women's liberation, and reflect two different definitions of who is the enemy of women: Imperialism, the system, in its total oppression and repression of women, or men and the "male dominated" left.

The Coalition is reprinting this letter in response to the article by Janice Kelly in off our backs, a women's newpaper in Washington, D.C. This article purports to call for non-collaboration but in reality is nothing more than a vicious attack on all national liberation struggles and on the anti-imperialist movement. Women across the country have been outraged by this article, that in the name of women's liberation actively supports the state's strategy. This is a letter from the Coalition to Defend the October 20th Freedom Fighters in response to the off our backs article.

We, the Coalition to Defend the October 20th Freedom Fighters, believe that Janis Kelly's article "Grand Juries: We All Know Too Much" contains serious and dangerous breaches of basic principles on which the women's movement and all progressive movements must be built. oob defines the Black Liberation Struggle and other national liberation struggles as endangering women's liberation, rather than as the forces which are leading in overturning centuries of oppression and changing the lives of masses of women around the world. By defining national liberation struggles as the enemies of women, oob effectively argues for collaboration with the state. oob says that the October 20th attempted expropriation of a Brink's truck was a terrorist act which will bring repression down on the women's movement. We totally disagree. We believe that this action taken by the Revolutionary Armed Task Force under the leadership of the Black Liberation Army was a revolutionary act which is part of advancing the liberation of all people dominated and oppressed by u.s. imperialism.

By slandering the freedom fighters of the Black Liberation Army and the Revolutionary Armed Task Force as 'terrorists', oob is arguing the enemy's line. They describe as a "witless animal trance" the commitment on the highest level of warriors fighting against genocide and white supremacy. Was Teurai Ropa Nhongo, Minister of Community Development and Women's Affairs of Zimbabwe a "witless animal" when she took up arms

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INTERVIEW WITH EVE ROSAHN

Anti-imperialist activist Eve Rosahn, who was the target of a massive government frame-up in the Rockland case, was recently exonerated of all charges. She continues to be a target of the RICO grand jury.

Q: How do you see your case in light of the state's attack on the Black liberation movement and the anti-imperialist movement in this period?

A: The state's strategy is to attempt to destroy the revolutionary armed forces of the Black liberation struggle - the Black Liberation Army - by terrorizing the mass anti-imperialist movement which supports it. Unable to directly get at the armed clandestine movement, the state is attacking public revolutionary organizations and activists in the Black liberation movement such as Fulani Sunni-Ali, Chairperson of the People's Center Council of the Republic of New Afrika, Jerri Gaines, Yaasmin Fula and anti-imperialist activists such as myself.

The state knew all along that I was innocent of the charges of criminal facilitation. I was accused of providing my car as one of the vehicles that allegedly was used in the action on October 20th, and of renting other vehicles. The day of the so-called car rental I was disabled due to injuries I sustained at the hands of the police after protesting the apartheid Springbok rugby tour. The state has illegally seized samples of my handwriting several times over the past 12 years by FBI break-ins at my home. The dropping of my charges and those against Fulani throws serious doubt on the validity of all the charges. The entire u.s. government-projected "web of terror" has turned out to be a web of lies. Not one accusation has proved out, not one person subpoenaed or jailed for in some way "facilitating" the expropriation remains in jail.

Q: Why do you think that you in particular have been targeted by the u.s. government?

A: The charges in Rockland County were part of a strategy to criminalize the entire anti-imperialist movement. In particular, I was being prosecuted because I am a friend and comrade of Judy Clark's. I was framed up on the basis of my political associations, and because the state is particularly trying to isolate freedom fighters from the liberation movements they're a part of. I have been a political activist for 13 years, beginning with the anti-war movement, as an anti-imperialist and supporter of the Black liberation struggle. I am, as is Judy Clark, a plaintiff in Clark et al. v. USA, the $100 million law suit which holds Nixon, the FBI and others responsible for COINTELPRO, the FBI-led counterinsurgency war strategy against the national liberation struggles and all progressive movements.

Q: You are one of the Anti-Springbok 5, five people who were arrested at Kennedy Airport during a militant demonstration against the racist South African rugby team. Can you discuss this?

A: The case of the Anti-Springbok 5 stems from our decision to militantly answer the call of the Azanian people to stop the Springboks tour. Like 1,000s of people in New Zealand and across the u.s., we were following the U.N. mandate to countries and people throughout the world to fight apartheid and white supremacy. The u.s. and New Zealand are the only governments that issued visas to the Springboks, in violation of international law. The terms of that struggle in the u.s. were changed by the action of the Black Liberation Army in bombing the offices of the Eastern Rugby Union in Schenectady on September 22, 1981.

The BLA clearly led in actively fighting against the u.s. government's strategy and the organized white supremacist forces that implemented it. We attempted to follow that leadership on a mass level by militantly and directly confronting the racist boers. The reality of white anti-imperialist freedom fighters and a growing mass anti-imperialist movement fighting imperialism under revolutionary African leadership does threaten u.s. imperialism. The government's totally illegal attacks on the Anti-Springbok 5 are part of the overall repression against revolutionary forces in this period.

Q: You identify yourself as part of the anti-imperialist women's movement. Why is supporting the B.L.A. and the liberation struggle in Azania part of that?

A: Imperialism is the enemy of women and I think it is clear that national liberation struggles are the forces that are

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"WE ARE IN A WAR...."

The National Committee to Defend New Afrikan Freedom Fighters is a New Afrikan organization that builds political and legal support within the Black community for those New Afrikan freedom fighters captured during the attempted Brink's expropriation or as part of the FBI attack on Black revolutionary forces since that time. The National Committee to Defend New Afrikan Freedom Fighters gives strategic direction to all public work done in support of the seven captured comrades. The article below was excerpted from a speech given February 13, 1982 by Ahmed Obafemi, a spokesperson for the National Committee to Defend New Afrikan Freedom Fighters.

We have a world perspective and within that a view on the struggle of Afrikan people inside this country. We agree with those who say that Afrikan people in this country are an oppressed nation; we agree with those who say that Afrikan people in this country have the right to struggle for land and independence and building a socialist state; we would agree with those who say that according to the charter of the United Nations that an oppressed and colonized people have the right to wage struggle for their liberation by any means necessary. And as they say in international law, up to and including armed struggle. And since we support all those rights, therefore we support the Black Liberation Army. We see the BLA as the embryo of a People's Army being built to wage the struggle for land and independence in this country.

Afrikan people have been <u>in</u> a war ever since we have been here. We may not have been <u>at</u> war, but we definitely have been <u>in</u> a war, We were in a war ever since the first African slave was kidnapped, transported here, and forced into slavery, forced to begin to work against our will to build this vast empire.

We must look at the situation of New Afrikan people in this country and when we look at that situation we understand clearly that the u.s. government is either unable or unwilling to protect the lives of Black people. Therefore, if our lives are to be protected, it is we who must protect our own lives. So presently today you see inside amerikkka, Afrikan people talking about building self-defense units, the right to self-defense, that self-defense is a human right. We see the fact that the masses of New Afrikan people in this country are beginning to amass ourselves again and are beginning to go to the streets to demonstrate.

We want to talk about the BLA. I think that it is important that we talk about it. Unless people understand there's a BLA, they won't understand that there's a real revolution going on. Unless we talk about the BLA, many people won't want to believe that there is a BLA. Because the u.s. government at least prior to October 20th, would have had us believe that there was no BLA; they would have had us believe that the BLA had all been incarcerated, killed, or forced into exile. Those of us who have read the words of Assata Shakur understand very clearly: "As long as one Black man, one Black woman, or one Black child is not free, there will be a Black Liberation Army."

On October 20th, 1981 under the leadership of the BLA, the Revolutionary Armed Task Force took from a Brink's truck — and let's be very clear who owns the Brink's truck —$1.6 million. Subsequently some events happened and four of our comrades were captured and the u.s. state got the money back. In the process of all this two policemen were killed and one Brink's guard. I've heard a number of people say that they support the Brink's expropriation but they cannot understand why the policemen were killed. They cannot understand why the guard was killed. And the reason that they don't understand that is because they don't understand that we're in war. They don't understand that there's a war going on. If we understand that we're at war, then we have to define who the enemy is. And if no one knows that there's a war, then they won't know

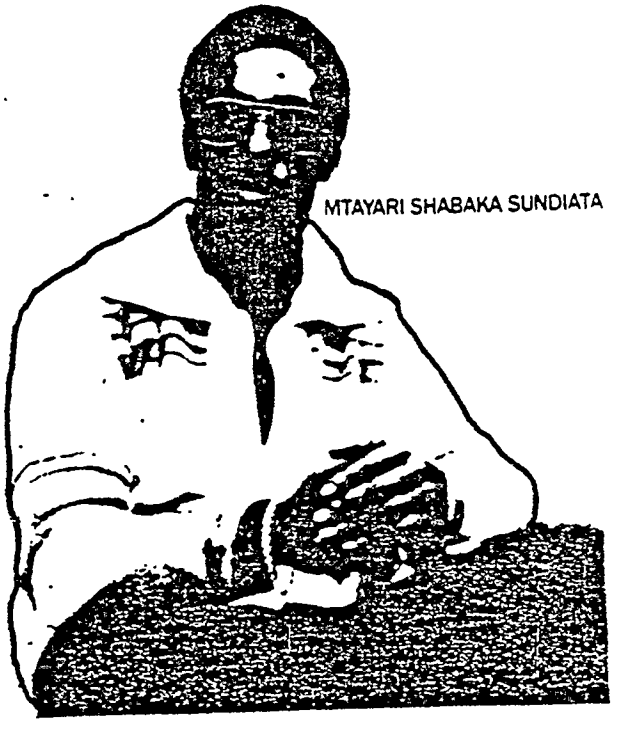
that the police are the enemy. Then you will not understand that those who guard the money that has been exploited and taken from the Black community — you will not understand that they are the enemy, that they are guarding that money for the capitalists. If you don't understand that, then you might not support those freedom fighters and those comrades in the manner in which they need to be supported. We didn't create the war; we don't want no war; but nevertheless there is a state of war and in order for us to survive and continue to live as a people, we must fight in the war. So, when we fight in the war, we join forces with all of those who understand that we have the same enemy. Out of this, you have the Revolutionary Armed Task Force, which has in it Black comrades and white comrades who understand that there's a war going on and that the war is being intensified and that in order for the movement to survive, in order for the movement to move forward, that the movement has to be financed.

We can't have no struggle in this country if people want to hide the fact that they support revolutionary struggle. We can't be afraid to talk about struggle. We can't be afraid to stand up here and say that we support the Black Liberation Army. You weren't afraid to march in the streets and support the Vietnamese movement; you're not afraid to get out in the streets and support the Palestinian movement or the movement in El Salvador or the movement in Namibia or Azania. Why? Because those movements are outside of these borders? You can't stand up and support the New Afrikan Independence Movement? You can't stand up and support the Puerto Rican P.O.W.s? What is the problem?

What tradition are the BLA and the RATF carrying on? The tradition of Denmark Vesey, the tradition of Nat Turner who organized the slaves to rebel after hearing the words of David Walker telling Black slaves to rise up and slay the slavemasters. They're carrying on the tradition of Marcus Garvey, who asked Afrikan people, who asked the Black man in this country: Where is your nation? Where is your government? Where is your flag? Where is your army? This is the tradition that they are carrying on. They are carrying on the tradition of Malcolm X who said "human rights by any means necessary". This tradition grows out of the fact that we're in a state of war.

Is there a history to the Revolutionary Armed Task Force — that there are white anti-imperialists freedom fighters who will unite with New Afrikan freedom fighters in a strategic alliance to bring about certain strategic military gains? We remember the Abolitionist movement. There were white people who ran, built or owned safe houses. There were white people who supported the right of slaves to be free. It's the same thing we see today. There were some white people during the Civil Rights movement who said "We're down with you all the way. We support your right to liberation and we're going to support that any way we can." So, there was John Brown. John Brown is a tradition. These are the kinds of allies that we want.

There are two traditions that must be carried. There must be the tradition of our comrade Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata; there is a tradition carried on that our comrades Judy Clark and David Gilbert represent. We must push these traditions forward. We must work to build these traditions. ●



MTAYARI SHABAKA SUNDIATA

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against the oppression of her nation by the Boers? Was Lolita Lebron seeking "ejaculatory satisfaction" when she attacked Congress to stop imperialist destruction of her nation of Puerto Rico and win its independence? They, like the captured Nyack combatants are Freedom Fighters, not terrorists. oob would support the right of a woman to defend herself from physical abuse and we assume the right of Third World people to defend themselves from racist violence -- but viciously attacks any collective organized struggle against the perpetrators of this violence.

There has been a sharp struggle for years in the women's movement about its relationship to the imperialist state. Years ago, women like Jill Raymond, Terry Turgeon, Ellen Grusse and others offered models by taking a clear, principled stand of non-collaboration with the fbi and grand jury attacks. They were admired and defended by women, at the same time as the us government was projecting agents like Jane Alpert as legitimate "feminists". In 1982, that struggle has re-emerged and so has Alpert. oob, like Alpert, attacks the only strategy, people's war for national liberation, which can win liberation for women.

oob concretely endangers the women's movement, invites the state's attacks, and disarms us from defeating the grand jury. Their speculations about Kathy Boudin's whereabouts literally invite fbi investigation. oob is exposed when it argues that women protect their "privacy" by not collaborating, at the same time that it has no hesitation about offering up some women to the state's attack.

The grand jury is a weapon that has been used against the anti-war movement, the women's movement, the Puerto Rican Independence Movement and is now being wielded against the Black Liberation Struggle and white anti-imperialists who ally with it. The principled stance of non-collaboration, taken because we understand its nature, is the only way grand juries can be stopped. oob, while paying lip-service to non-collaboration, is attempting to unite the women's movement with the u.s. government's attacks on revolutionary and progressive forces and has to be denounced by the women's movement.

--Eve Rosahn, for the Coalition to Defend the October 20th Freedom Fighters

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people and neutralize all anti-imperialist and progressive movements. Revolutionary Black forces have led in defining the terms of resistance as supporting the right of Black people to wage People's War for human rights, land and liberation and to fight white supremacist terror. The fight to exonerate Eve had to be waged on these terms and under that leadership. For example, we agree with May 19th Communist Organization that positions in the white left that portrayed Eve as a victim who was used by the armed clandestine movement must be exposed and opposed as opportunist and racist. But this purpose could not be served by Eve's cooperating with the state's investigation. This struggle could only be successfully waged by organizing people to support Eve as part of defending the right of all anti-imperialist organizers to fight for the right of oppressed peoples to wage armed struggle for liberation.

The decision to give up Eve's handwriting was made without consulting all the forces affected by it -- the captured freedom fighters, the Grand Jury resisters and the Third World leadership on the outside. It was a decision made and implemented independently and outside of the overall strategy of the leadership in this struggle. This reflected a contemptuous and racist attitude toward these forces. It failed to recognize the significance of the unity being forged in this struggle among revolutionary forces from the Black, Puerto Rican and ChicanoMexicano struggle and the

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BUILDING THE COALITION: NATIONAL REPORT

When New Afrikan Freedom Fighter Solomon Brown was moved from Rockland County Jail to the Westchester County Medical Center the District Attorney Gribetz said "My office received thousands of letters and telegrams demanding medical care." It was the political mobilization from people all over the country that forced the government to give Solomon Brown medical care.

The Coalition is being built nationally, and the fight to support all the captured combatants is growing. Forces have emerged that support the principles and politics of the Coalition, and are willing to recognize that a revolutionary strategy is being put into effect that must be struggled over and supported.

In January 1982 the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee began to build the Coalition on the West Coast. On January 12 the Coalition sponsored its first activity in San Francisco. This event was the first public response by revolutionary forces on the West Coast to the attempted Brinks expropriation on October 20, 1981. It was attended by a cross-section of the anti-imperialist movement, and the anti-imperialist women's movement. The National Committee to Defend New Afrikan Freedom Fighters, the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional, and the Coalition to Defend the October 20th Freedom Fighters spoke. The event publicly combatted the massive FBI-directed media hysteria that dominated the West Coast papers. It was the first alternative view to the criminalization of these comrades and their actions.

Also on the West Coast, in Los Angeles, a joint fundraiser was held for the National Committee to Defend New Afrikan Freedom Fighters and the Coalition to Defend the October 20th Freedom Fighters. The film showing/fundraiser was The Spook Who Sat By The Door. A pro Black liberation and pro armed struggle film, it drew audiences from the Black community, and from the anti-imperialist movement.

A brunch was held in Portland, Oregon, sponsored by the support committee of the Portland Black United Front. In Denver Colorado a meeting was held to initiate the conditions campaign to support the Freedom Fighters.

The John Brown Anti-Klan Committee held programs where representatives from the National Committee to Defend New Afrikan Freedom Fighters and the Coalition spoke in Kentucky; Chicago; Austin, TX; Washington, D.C. These programs were held as part of the Jphn Brown Anti-Klan Committee's national program to STOP KILLER COPS! SUPPORT NEW AFRIKAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS! ●

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necessity for white anti-imperialist forces to build unity with that leadership.

Some of the basis for this opportunist error can be seen in the explanation given by May 19th Communist Organization for the decision on the exemplar. In the context of increasing repression, Eve's case created increased organizational pressures and strained resources and energies. People were anxious to win a quick victory and be rid of the burden of the case. Yet by following the course that you did, May 19th Communist Organization and others involved put immediate needs and concerns ahead of your responsibility to the movement as a whole. Politics were not in command of the strategy to fight Eve's case, because getting her off was isolated from making the fight to win her case strengthen the movement and the struggles against the state's attacks on the Black struggle, all the national liberation struggles and the anti-imperialist movement.

We raise these criticisms out of respect for the fight that May 19th Communist Organization and Eve are waging in support of the freedom

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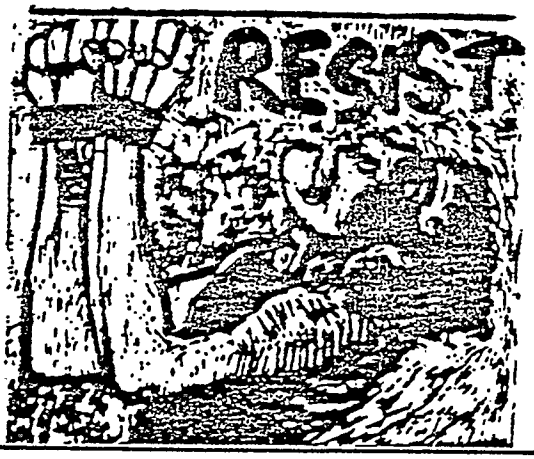
Do what must be done, discover your humanity & your love in revolution. pass on the torch, join us, give up your life for the people..." george jackson

"...we must create shields that protect us & spears that penetrate our enemys..." assata shakur

let me close by sending love & struggle towards better days filled with better ways of more & stronger unity

rita d. brown
federal prisoner
#21813-170



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Several important lessons for the overall campaign can be drawn from the victory in comrade Solomon's case and in the ongoing struggle against the conditions of the freedom fighters overall:

1) The torture is systematic, coordinated and centralized: the FBI is directing the physical and psychological torture of the captured freedom fighters in an effort to break them, gather information about the armed clandestine movement and force them to renounce their revolutionary politics.

The medical records clearly prove that comrade Solomon had his neck broken during the systematic beatings and interrogation that he received at the hands of the local police and FBI Anti-Terrorism Task Force. He did not have a broken neck on X-rays that were taken at Nyack Hospital within 24 hours of the car crash and his initial beating by the Rockland police. He was then tortured two or three times a day for the next six days; every time he was moved he was beaten around the neck. As his pain and weakness grew, the DA and prison officials maintained he was fine. By December 17th, repeat X-rays clearly showed that his neck was broken. But the prison doctor who was aware of the situation did nothing, and the DA and FBI used his medical condition to intensify their efforts to break him. As pressure mounted on the FBI to deal with his condition, they tried to "disappear" him : the prison said he was transferred to the hospital; the hospital said he had been admitted for only one day and then discharged -- no one could "find" one of the most closely guarded prisoners in the United States.

Soon after Solomon arrived at Woodbourne, Sgt. Abbot of the Woodbourne Correctional Facility removed him from the cellblock telling him he was going for a medical examination. In fact, he was brought to another area of the prison, locked in a room, and the FBI tried to interrogate him for two hours.
terrogate him for two hours. The torture must be stopped.

The role of the FBI in the torture of Sekou Odinga is also now clearer. He was beaten from the moment of his capture, but it was after three hours when his real identity became known that the FBI-led Anti-Terrorism Task Force was called in to direct his systematic torture. They were the ones responsible for burning his arms with cigarettes, smashing and pulling out his toe nails, and beating him until his pancreas was seriously damaged. During the entire beating, he was consistently interrogated for in-

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"Eve Rosahn"... continued from p. 7

leading in its defeat. Women freedom fighters in particular — Assata Shakur, Haydee Torres, Teurai Ropa Nhongo — have shown all women that the way to women's liberation is in the full participation in the fight to defeat imperialism. For white women, following that leadership means actively taking on the fight against white supremacy and u.s. imperialism. I think Judy represents that at the highest level for us now.

Q: Why did you give your handwriting sample to the Rockland County DA and what do you think of this decision now?

A: May 19th Communist Organization and I saw the Rockland County charges as diverting our energies away from building support for the October 20th freedom fighters and felt that the focus on my case was directing attention away from the basis of the Anti-Springbok defense: the fight against white supremacy and in support of African liberation worldwide. I thought at the time that giving the handwriting samples to the Rockland County DA was not in contradiction to my continuing stand of non-collaboration with the grand jury. Criticisms of this action have been made both by revolutionary Third World organizations and by other white anti-imperialists. Through the political struggle that they have waged, I now agree that giving my handwriting was collaboration. In placing our own reasons for wanting a quick exoneration above the need to build a strong revolutionary movement, we violated a strategic principle that Third World comrades have struggled for and have at points done long terms in jail to uphold. I understand more deeply now that non-collaboration must be total because it is based in understanding that our relationship to u.s. imperialism is totally antagonistic.

I am totally committed to non-collaboration with the grand jury and to forcing my two subpoenas to be withdrawn. And I am committed to building from the victory of my exoneration in Rockland County and the vacating of the grand jury contempt, to build support for the captured freedom fighters, for the Black liberation struggle, for the right of all oppressed nations to wage war for land, independence and socialism. ●

"Clark/Gilbert" continued from p. 11

fighters and the right of oppressed peoples to fight for liberation. We are also self-critical that we did not fight to participate in the struggle over this decision and thereby did not oppose it before it happened. Understanding these errors will arm us with a clearer ideological and strategic basis to continue this fight. We gained some lessons for ourselves. First, that we must firmly implant ourselves in revolutionary principles and combative resolve. Tactical considerations can never obliterate our strategic principles and our responsibility to the needs of the struggle. Particularly when confronted with repression, we must decide our actions on the basis of this responsibility and our revolutionary commitment. It is the struggle that makes us strong. There are no shortcuts to victory. But if we dare to struggle, we can win.

Finally, we need to take every public occasion to call for heightened and continued consciousness about the conditions of the captured Black Freedom Fighters. After 12 excruciating weeks, a mass campaign finally secured needed surgery for Bro. Sol. But we have no guarantee that the medical treatment for him or for Sekou Odinga and Abdul Majid has been successful and adequate. And we know that the state continues its attempts to injure and incapacitate these Freedom Fighters. Recently when Sekou Odinga was abruptly transferred from the hospital to the Brooklyn House of Detention, he was manacled hand and foot and thrown into the back of a prison van, which was driven at break-neck speed over bumps and holes. He was thus battered around in such a manner as to cause further injury to his damaged pancreas. These comrades have shown incredible fortitude in the face of torture and abuse and the authorities are furious that they have not been able to break them. Continued vigilance and pressure from all of us is necessary to safeguard the freedom fighters.

Judith Clark
February, 1982 David Gilbert ●

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We believe that to turn over handwriting voluntarily to the prosecution was collaboration. Eve was charged with criminal facilitation in the attempted Brinks expropriation. She was charged with lending her car to Judith Clark, one of the captured anti-imperialist freedom fighters, and with renting a van used in the expropriation. It was a frame-up from the moment she was indicted.

The Rockland County District Attorney's office knew this, as did Eve and her supporters. The question surrounding this situation was not one of guilt vs. innocence, but how best to politically defeat the government's attempted frame-up of Eve Rosahn. The decision to opt for a quick exoneration, to take the simplest way out, means that -- while Eve's charges were dropped -- this cannot be claimed as a victory for the struggle and for the movement.

To take this path did not build the struggle for revolutionary principle and integrity. As the struggle intensifies and white revolutionaries take up arms against imperialism, these principles are increasingly an imperative for the survival and growth of our movement. To collaborate at this stage of repression exposes our continuing need to fight within ourselves against white supremacy and opportunism, as well as the fear of fighting the state all the way. What has happened to Eve may be the beginning of this type of attack on the anti-imperialist movement, but surely it will not be the end. To have given in to the state's terms allowed the state to use our greatest weakness. We cannot allow this to happen.

We need a strong resistance, one based on support for revolutionary struggle -- a movement where people understand that there are consequences to revolutionary struggle and action; a movement that does not exceptionalize anyone; a movement based on the understanding that when we join it we join on the side of those who fight U.S. imperialism. So our options must fall within a revolutionary framework, and never within that of the U.S. state. To defeat U.S. imperialism from within will take courage and sacrifice. The Coalition reaffirms its commitment to the principle of non-collaboration, supports Eve Rosahn's refusal to collaborate with the grand jury, and extends our full solidarity to all those resisting the grand jury. •

"Conditions" continued from p. 12

formation about the Black Liberation Army.

2) The medical profession is complicit in the torture -- prison doctors refused even basic medical care to comrade Solomon in the face of an obviously serious and deteriorating condition. Doctors at King's County Hospital would not make public the nature of the injuries inflicted on Sekou Odinga. The demand for the comrades to have outside medical care is a key way to intervene against the state's attack.

3) Isolation must be combatted: isolating captured comrades from each other and from outside supporters is an attempt to create psychological pressure and the conditions where the state can physically torture and interrogate the freedom fighters.

Because of the campaign that is being waged, Judy Clark, David Gilbert, Kathy Boudin and now comrade Solomon are allowed out of their cells to see each other and can have authorized visits. BUT, the state transferred all of them to Woodbourne State Correctional Facility in upstate New York -- hours from their supporters, family and lawyers.

John Martin, the Federal

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Attorney on the case, admitted in a deposition that he, DA Gribetz and prison authorities knowingly and illegally transferred Judy Clark, David Gilbert and Kathy Boudin on the day that Federal Judge Duffy ruled that the conditions in which they were being held at MCC were unconstitutional.

The other captured freedom fighters now charged in the Nyack case, Abdul Majid, who was himself beaten to the point were 42 stitches were required to close his head wounds, Kuwasi Balagoon and Sekou Odinga are still being held in isolation in separate prisons. We must press for the demand that all the freedom fighters be returned to Metropolitan Correctional Center in New York City and be placed in general population.

One of the most vulnerable and isolated periods for the freedom fighters is when they are transported. Each is moved with hands and feet shackled and with a shotgun held inches from their heads or hearts. Guards systematically provoke them - both physically and verbally - to try to cause any reaction so that they can beat or kill them. This was done to Sekou Odinga even while he was transported within King's County Hospital. We demand guarantees of their safety and that they be transported under safe and humane conditions.

The victories that have been won are important, not only because they directly aid the comrades that are involved but also because they do stop the efforts by the government to make torture and isolation legitimate and standard procedure for dealing with revolutionaries in this country. We can take the strength gained by these victories as well as outrage at the continuing violations to turn this into a strategic campaign to stop the isolation and torture of freedom fighter and beat back the government's fascist offensive. o

The Coalition to Defend the October 20th Freedom Fighters has been formed to build political/legal support for all those captured or under attack by the u.s. government as a result of the attempted Brinks expropriation in Nyack, New York.

This includes the freedom fighters captured and charrged by the u.s. government with the action itself—Solomon Brown, Judith Clark, Kathy Boudin, David Gilbert, Abdul Majid, Sekou Odinga and Kuwasi Balagoon. It includes all those who refuse to collaborate with the RICO grand jury that the government is using to attack revolutionary organizations and individuals—Fulani Sunni-Ali, Gerri Gaines, Yassmin Fula, Yvette Sosa and Eve Rosahn. The **Coalition** works under the leadership of the **National Committee to Defend New Afrikan Freedom Fighters.**

PRINCIPLES OF UNITY

- We recognize that the Black Nation is waging a national liberation struggle for land and independence. We recognize that the Black Liberation Army is an integral part of the Black national liberation struggle, and its armed component. We support the right of Black people to wage armed struggle to end their colonial status. We support the BLA.
- The u.s. government is an illegitimate government that has no jurisdiction over the colonized Black Nation, its liberation forces, or allies who are participating in a just war for national liberation. We oppose the use of counter-intelligence, torture and grand juries by the u.s. government.
- We support all prisoners of war who are captured in the course of waging revolutionary armed struggle against u.s. imperialism and we support all political prisoners who are imprisoned and attacked because of their stance in opposition to u.s. imperialism.
- We welcome the formation of the Revolutionary Armed Task Force, which includes white revolutionary anti-imperialists working under the leadership of the Black Liberation Army. By their actions, they have shown the highest form of solidarity and internationalism. It is the role of progressive, anti-imperialist white people to support and defend freedom fighters and build a fighting movement under the leadership of the national liberations struggles.
- The attempted expropriation on October 20th in Nyack, New York, by the Revolutionary Armed Task Force was a revolutionary act. Resistance to colonialism and fascism is the right of all oppressed people and never premature. The combatants are freedom fighters, not terrorists. We offer them our unconditional support.

··UPDATES··

Fulani Sunni-Ali and Gerri Gaines have had their motions to quash their grand jury subpoenas denied. Fulani Sunni Ali, chairperson of the Peoples Center Council of the Republic of New Afrika (RNA) and Gerri Gaines, a citizen of the RNA and resident of the farmhouse in Mississippi raided by the FBI last October, charged that the grand jury was being used as a tool of political harassment against them because of their activities in and associations with the Black liberation struggle. They gave evidence of a long history of FBI-led COINTELPRO attacks against the RNA and pointed, in particular, to evidence of illegal electronic surveillance. Federal Judge Haight summarily denied their motions, claiming that they had not "proven" their case. Both women now face contempt hearings and incarceration for refusing to collaborate with the RICO grand jury.

Yassmin Fula has been released from the Metropolitan Correctional Center after 2½ months in jail, pending the appeal of her contempt citation for refusing to collaborate with the RICO grand jury. Her attorneys appealed to the Second Circuit Court of Appeals arguing that due process had been denied because the contempt hearing had been held in secret. On February 18, the Federal Appeals Court rejected the contempt of court charge against Yassmin on these grounds and ruled that she be given a full public hearing.

Carlos Noya and Norberto Cintron, two Puerto Rican independentistas, are scheduled to be released on March 30th from the Metropolitan Correctional Center after serving 17 months and 11 months respectively for refusing to collaborate with a grand jury "investigation" of the Puerto Rican armed clandestine movement. They have been jailed for the life of the grand jury. Their steadfast refusal to collaborate has given leadership to the struggle against grand jury repression.

On March 1st, Yvette Sosa, Puerto Rican independentista and member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, has been called before the RICO grand jury because of her alleged ties to Marilyn Jean Buck who is one of the indictees from the Brink's expropriation who is a fugitive. Yvette Sosa has taken the position of non-collaboration.

We urge all our readers to contact the Coalition to find out the exact information for all these court dates. Come out and demonstrate to support all these comrades.

WRITE TO THE COMRADES

We urge people to write to the imprisoned comrades and combatants. Mail is a concrete expression of support for these people, and gives them some leverage in dealing with the prison authorities. Writing to people cuts through some of the isolation of being held in seclusion, and it is a major way of insuring that these heroic political prisoners and prisoners of war can continue to participate in and provide leadership to the political struggles and the work.

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